

# Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku “Working Together Everyone and Listening”: Aboriginal Child Rearing in Remote Central Australia

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*The “Working Together Everyone and Listening” project is a unique and innovative effort to ensure not only voice, but agency in moving forward to better address locally identified needs and possibilities for young children in a remote part of central Australia. The authors describe how they have worked to identify and promote care services for their children that tap into and build on deep roots of culture and understanding.*

Senior Anangu and Yapa (Aboriginal people from the remote desert regions of central Australia) describe four key principles that underpin all matters regarding the growing of their children. (A glossary of terms appears in the Appendix).

*Tjukurpa* (in Luritja and Pitjantjatjara) *Jukurrpa* (in Warlpiri): the Dreaming, the Law;  
*Waltja* (in Luritja) *Walytja* (Pitjantjatjara) *Walartja* (in Warlpiri): Family, extended family, all family;  
*Ngura* (in Luritja and Pitjantjatjara) *Ngurrara* (in Warlpiri): The home, the Land, the country, this place;  
*Kanyini* (in Luritja and Pitjantjatjara) *Mardarni* (in Warlpiri): Holding everything, keeping everything together: Jukurrpa, Ngurrara, and Walartja.  
(Waltja Tjutangkku Palyapayi Aboriginal Organization, 2001, and Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS Project Team, 2002).

These four principles describe the child’s relationships and responsibilities to everything in their environment: people, animals, land, and family. They define how they are connected to and responsible for all things. Quality early childhood care and education involves Anangu and Yapa children understanding that they are part of this system and responsible for upholding these principles. The learning that begins in early childhood continues throughout a person’s life. The older generations of Anangu and Yapa men and women enable the knowledge held in the four principles to be transmitted across generations, where they provide Anangu and Yapa society with identity, cohesion, and strength.



Figure 1. Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi logo.

*Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi (Waltja) is an Aboriginal organization based in Alice Springs, Northern Territory, which provides training, education, and advocacy services to communities across central Australia.*

For over 60,000 years Anangu and Yapa have lived in the remote desert regions of central Australia (Horton, 1994). Their cultures are the oldest, longest surviving cultures in the world, their knowledge of quality early childhood care and education having evolved over many thousands of generations.

From the 1930s onwards, colonialism severely affected Anangu and Yapa society. The strong flow of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next was interrupted, and Anangu and Yapa society has been traumatized as a result. In many instances the crisis of colonization has brought on self-destructive behaviors such as petrol sniffing, violence, and alcohol misuse. In response to the many challenges facing their children and families, in late 1998 senior Anangu and Yapa women began recording their culture's child rearing principles and practices. This work has continued to expand incrementally, and in 2000 the project became known as Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku (Warlpiri for "Working together everyone and listening"), also referred to as the Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy (Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS).

As the project name implies, Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS evolved into being as much about the importance of process as it is about recording Anangu and Yapa cultural knowledge. Senior Anangu and Yapa women explain that Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku occurs only when Anangu, Yapa, and Kardiya (non-Aboriginal people, non-Yapa and non-Anangu) listen deeply and respectfully to each other, when they take care of each other and build trusted relationships over time (Priest, King, Brown, & Nangala, 2003). Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS is also about recording the correct way to grow up strong Yapa and Anangu children, for today and future generations (Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi, 2005).

In collaboration with the Aboriginal Organization Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi (Waltja), the Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS initiative is funded by the Australian Government Department of Families, Community Services, and Indigenous Affairs (FaCSIA). This initiative has also been the subject of a research fellowship at the Swinburne Institute of Social Policy Re-

search in Melbourne and is currently the subject of a master's by research degree in early childhood education at the University of South Australia, Adelaide.

In this article we discuss some of the key findings from the Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS project so far and explore its emerging influence in early childhood practice in Australia and internationally. For more detail see Priest et al. (2003); Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi (2001); and Warrki Jarrinjaku Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy Project Team (2002).

It is important to note that this article is written in English and that English is a third or fourth language for senior Anangu and Yapa women living in remote communities in central Australia. The Anangu and Yapa co-authors have translated the concepts and words of this article into English, and although every attempt has been made to ensure that the integrity of the meaning is maintained, many concepts discussed may be difficult to define in a Western cultural framework. To alleviate this difficulty, where possible the women's written language is used (see Figures 1, 3, and 7). Of additional note is that we have been working closely together for almost a decade, having developed a collaborative and trusted relationship over this time that greatly assists in the process of translation.

*Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku*

Wendy Nungurrayi Brown, Senior Yapa woman and co-author of this article, expresses the Warrki Jarrinjaku (working together) vision using Yapa and Anangu written language (see Figure 2).

In translating the meaning into English, Wendy explains,

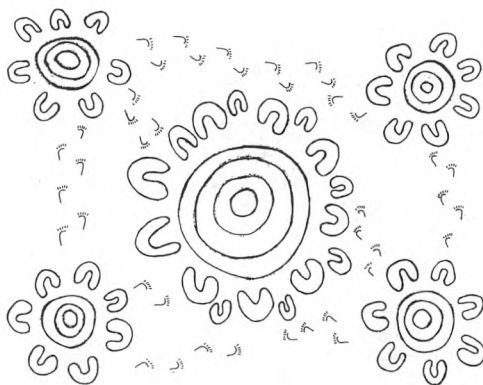


Figure 2. Everyone working together, listening, following and supporting one another.

We need to work together as one, and to follow-supporting one another. This is important ... Kardiya (øwhite fella") and Yapa (Aboriginal) working together and supporting each other. (personal communication)

The *U* shapes in Figure 2 represent people—Anangu, Yapa (Aboriginal), and Kardiya (non-Aboriginal people)—and the circles show where people work and have meetings. The large circle is Canberra, the capital city of Australia and home of the federal government, and the four smaller circles are the services and various government departments. The "feet" link everything and everyone into one entity.

The shaded region is the approximate area of central Australia covered by Aboriginal organization Waltja Tjutanku Palyapayi. The dark circle is the area where the Warrki Jarrinjaku work first started: it is the approximate size of the United Kingdom.

The Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS model of partnership is important because Anangu and Yapa cultural knowledge is officially recognized as being equal to mainstream knowledge (Priest et al., 2003). The Warrki Jarrinjaku way of working recognizes that there is a gap in the mainstream knowledge base, and this creates an environment where genuine collaboration and partnership can occur. Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku is about creating a special space in which to work where one culture or way of thinking does not dominate the other, but instead the integrity of each culture is maintained. Taylor (2003), the former Chief Executive Officer of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, describes this as an intercultural space. He defines intercultural as

the "meeting of two distinct cultures" through processes and interactions which retain the distinctive integrity and difference of both cultures and which may involve a blending of elements of both cultures but never the domination of one over another. (p. 45)

Knowledge builds over time through a process of deep listening and respect: "everyone working together as one" (Wendy Nungurrayi Brown, personal communication). Sharijn King (personal communication) further

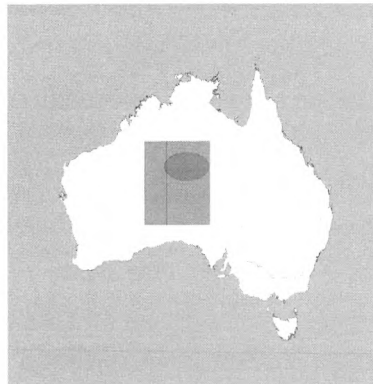


Figure 3. Waltja Tjutanku Palyapayi region in central Australia.

explains that the building of trusted relationships is critical for Warrki Jarrinjaku to be realized: "Nothing can be achieved until there is a relationship. If there is no relationship then it won't work. Relationship is the key."

Putting Warrki Jarrinjaku into practice, governments, related professionals, and Anangu and Yapa work together to combine their knowledge and expertise. A key feature of this work is that the senior Anangu and Yapa women are exploring an innovative research technique known as *family mapping* with support from staff from the Aboriginal organization Waltja Tjutangu Palyapayi (Waltja Tjutangu Palyapayi, 2001).

Not wishing to rely on recording their stories in English, Anangu and Yapa women experimented with using their own written language (family mapping) to describe their child rearing practices: the drawings and designs seen in the Western Desert paintings. Figure 4 provides an example.

This design depicts four old women teaching young children about Tjukurpa while they are all sitting around the camp fire (included with permission from Waltja Tjutangu Palyapayi).

Significantly, the family mapping was also used to develop a shared language between the project partners and to encourage genuine intercultural communication. Again, not wishing always to rely on English as the shared language in the group, the senior Anangu and Yapa women used family mapping to develop a language that could be shared with their project partners. The Anangu and Yapa women used their own written language to communicate and explain their ideas and share knowledge as, for example, in Figures 1, 3, and 7.

### *"Growing Up" Children: The Key Principles*

As noted above in the introduction, in a report produced as part of the Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS project "Pipirri Wiimaku (for the little kids) Innovative Child Care Report 2000-2001," senior Anangu and Yapa women identify four key principles underpinning all matters in the *growing up* of their children: Tjukurpa, Waltja, Ngura, and Kanyini (Waltja, 2001).

In the second major report produced as part of the Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS project "Warrki Jarrinjaku jintangkamanu Purananjaku 'Working together everyone and listening': Aboriginal Child Rearing and Associated Research: A Review of the Literature" (Warrki Jarrinjaku Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy Project Team, 2002) the four principles are described in more detail. It is important to note that the senior Anangu and Yapa women working with Waltja come from a number of language groups in central Australia including Pintupi, Luritja, Warlpiri, Alyawarr, Kukatja, and

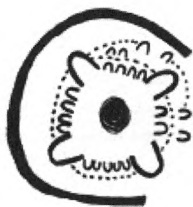


Figure 4. Family mapping.

Table 1

*Conventional Practice Compared With the Warrki Jarrinjaku Leadership Model (Priest et al., 2003). Note: Anangu is used to represent both Anangu and Yapa*

<i>Conventional Practice</i>	<i>Warrki Jarrinjaku Partnership Model</i>
<p>Mainstream knowledge is believed to be superior to Anangu culture in its ability to deal with the health and well-being crisis in Anangu communities.</p> <p>It is assumed that Anangu are deficient in a number of areas. The aim is to "fix the problem" by addressing Anangu deficiencies.</p>	<p>Anangu cultural knowledge is formally recognized as being of equal value to mainstream knowledge. The limitations of mainstream knowledge, in relation to its ability to "fix the crisis" for Anangu, are recognized.</p> <p>Senior Anangu are treated as experts in their field. The aim is to build on Anangu strengths and expertise.</p>
<p>Key features of conventional practice include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• service models are designed by non-Anangu</li> <li>• service delivery is heavily reliant on non-Anangu</li> <li>• the service coordinator is non-Anangu</li> <li>• non-Anangu are paid a full-time wage, Anangu are on CDEP</li> <li>• it is believed that services cannot operate without non-Anangu staff</li> <li>• the service may be described as being 'both ways' however, in reality it is dominated by mainstream culture and values</li> <li>• Anangu often avoid working in the service</li> <li>• non-Anangu usually hold the most powerful positions and make many decisions on behalf of Anangu</li> </ul>	<p>Key features of Warrki Jarrinjaku include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• service models designed by Anangu in genuine partnership with professional non-Anangu who facilitate the process (see Warrki Jarrinjaku principles and practices)</li> <li>• service delivery relies heavily on Anangu</li> <li>• the coordinator is Anangu</li> <li>• Anangu and non-Anangu are paid a wage</li> <li>• non-Anangu staff perform a specific function in the service-they are not the boss</li> <li>• the program cannot function without Anangu</li> <li>• the aim is to value equally and respect quality practices from both mainstream and Anangu culture</li> <li>• Anangu specifically ask to work in the service</li> <li>• Anangu have greater choice, opportunity, and self-reliance</li> </ul>
<p>The government-service provider relationship:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the primary relationship is with non-Anangu</li> <li>• non-Anangu staff speak on behalf of Anangu</li> <li>• "gatekeeping" by non-Anangu staff</li> <li>• non-Anangu staff focus on the difficulties they encounter providing services to Anangu</li> </ul>	<p>The government-service provider relationship:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the primary relationship is with Anangu</li> <li>• Anangu speak for themselves</li> <li>• open and transparent communication between Anangu, the service provider, and government is promoted</li> <li>• government and non-government personnel concentrate on providing quality information to Anangu</li> </ul>
<p>Performance is measured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the experiences of non-Anangu staff</li> <li>• reports provided by non-Anangu staff</li> <li>• the outputs</li> </ul>	<p>Performance is measured by:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the experiences of Anangu</li> <li>• reports provided by Anangu</li> <li>• the <i>outcomes</i> for Anangu</li> </ul>

Table 1 (continued)

<p>The training is primarily one-way:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the focus is on teaching Anangu</li> <li>• most of the training is imposed</li> <li>• Anangu often choose not to attend the training provided</li> </ul>	<p>The training model is two-way:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anangu cultural knowledge is formally recognized as being of equal value to mainstream knowledge</li> <li>• Anangu are the teachers</li> <li>• Anangu want to undertake training</li> <li>• Anangu specifically ask to attend training</li> </ul>
<p>The steering committee is dominated by non-Anangu professionals and government representatives who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• have access to all the critical knowledge associated with the service being developed</li> <li>• make the decisions and then inform Anangu about what has been decided. The process may involve asking Anangu if they agree with the decision.</li> </ul>	<p>The steering committee is made up solely of Anangu. A separate group is formed with professional people and government representatives. The aim is to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ensure Anangu have access to quality information and advice to enable them to make informed decisions</li> <li>• facilitate the decisions made by Anangu</li> </ul>

Arrenrnte. The common Aboriginal language for the group is Luritja, so the concepts Tjukurpa, Kanyini, Waltja, and Ngura are usually referred to using the Luritja terms. In the following explanation, the Warlpiri terms are also included.

### *Tjukurpa*

The following quote is a simple English definition for Tjukurpa (in Pitjantjatjara and Luritja) or Jukurrpa (in Warlpiri).

Dreaming; the basis for Aboriginal Law and custom; the period during which the [Anangu and Yapa] social, moral and physical universe was created, which has on-going reality through the continuity of the practices that constitute the [Anangu and Yapa] cultures. (Vaarzon-Morel, 1995, p. 111)

However, the concept of Tjukurpa needs to be used in its own right. A simple English translation is inadequate as there is no equivalent concept in the English language.

Senior Anangu and Yapa women explain that Tjukurpa is similar in some ways to the concept of God. Tjukurpa is omnipotent and omnipresent and is based on the knowledge and activity that was established with ancestors and ancestral beings. Through art, songs, stories, ceremonies, and everyday practice, Tjukurpa is passed from generation to generation. It explains and links land, animals, plants, and people. It is implicit in all codes of behavior, social organization, and control and relationships between people, places, and animals.

The rules for bringing up children have been passed from generation to generation through Tjukurpa, and a central focus of child rearing is the



imparting of stories, rules, and knowledge embedded in Tjukurpa. A baby becomes part of the Tjukurpa at conception.

Our grandparents showed us when we were children and we understand everything now because we were well educated. From the time that we were little children we learnt things, right up until we grew big and became old. It was as a child that I began to learn and carry it on [Jukurpa, the Law] ... We are holding it, we are still looking after it [Mardarni (in Warlpiri); Kanyini (in Luritja, Pitjantjatjara)] ... Our understanding continues forever. We keep the Law eternally. (Molly Nungurrayi, translated from Warlpiri in Vaarzon-Morel, 1995, p. 4)

### *Waltja*

A simple English translation for the word Waltja (in Luritja), Waltyja (in Pitjantjatjara), Walarja (in Warlpiri) is "family." It does mean family, but is much broader, referring not only to the nuclear family but also to a person's whole set of blood and marriage relatives. Furthermore, the term Waltja is not strictly limited to those to whom you are related through blood or marriage. It also extends to include those with whom one is familiar, has stayed with, has been fed and cared for by, or has grown up with. In a sense it can refer to anyone with whom a significant relationship has been shared, and it includes people and animals.

Any known Anangu and Yapa can be included and addressed as if they were close family even if they have no blood relationship. People from outside the desert regions of central Australia, including non-Aboriginal persons who come into a community, may be fitted into the Waltja system (Myers, 1986, cited in Warrki Jarrinjaku Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy Project Team, 2002). Waltja refers to a sense of belonging together or a shared identity. It also identifies the relationship between self and others, objects, or places. The Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara categorize all people into family or non-family, waltja or mungutja (Myers).

### *Ngura*

Ngura (in Luritja, Pitjantjatjara) or Ngurrara (in Warlpiri) literally means camp, home, place where people are staying or could stay, place, site, area, or tract of country. The concept implies a sense of place, the place to which one belongs and the relationships and connections between people and place.

### *Kanyini*

Kanyini (in Luritja, Pitjantjatjara) or Mardarni (in Warlpiri) literally means having, holding, keeping, looking after, minding, managing. Kanyini refers to the holding together of all connections, relationships, traditions, place, Dreaming, and Law. It is the binding together and holding together of Waltja, Tjukurpa, and Ngura (Pitjantjatjara and Warlpiri language dictionaries and Waltja Steering Committee, personal commentary). It is the concept that reminds people that it is vital to keep and maintain the rules,



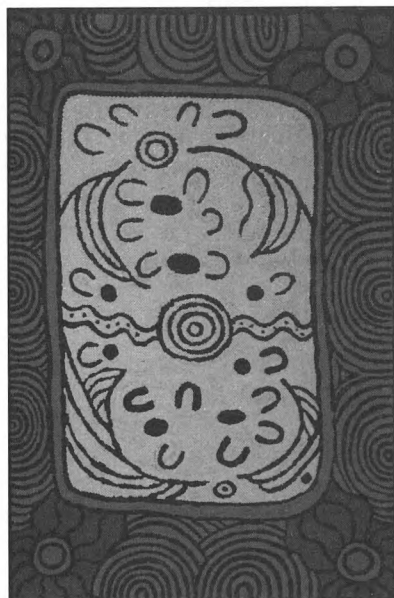


Figure 5. Painting by Irene Nangala of her country near Walungurru (Kintore).

stories, and ceremonies associated with one's Tjukurpa, Waltja, and Ngura. Nungurrayi Brown, in defining Mardarni, comments:

Mardarni means holding, keeping and watching everything-Tjukurpa, Waltja and Ngura. The big bosses [important Elders] tell us to hold and keep everything, tell us to follow Tjukurpa, know which Tjukurpa you belong to, what dance, what painting, ceremony, sorry, everything. Making sure you keep it, not lose it. (personal communication)

#### *Anangu and Yapa Child Rearing Practices*

One of the distinct features to emerge from the Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS work is the differing perceptions held by Anangu and Yapa and Kardiya (non-Aboriginal people) about babies and young children (Waltja, 2001). In Kardiya culture babies are seen as helpless and in need of a great deal of direction from adults, a perception that contrasts with the beliefs embedded in Anangu and Yapa child rearing. When Yapa and Anangu look at babies and young children, they see small adults. These "little people" have a set place in the family and the community, along with all the responsibilities of law and culture. They may be addressed as "my young auntie," "my mother again," or "my young grandfather" (Waltja).

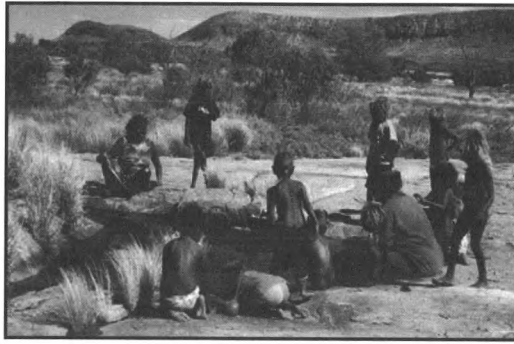


Figure 6. A photo taken near Walungurru (Kintore), Northern Territory.

Young Yapa children are gradually introduced to their specific obligations and responsibilities associated with Jukurrpa. As part of these teachings young children have almost complete freedom to choose and demand whatever they desire. This is in contrast to Kardiya culture where babies are required to develop routines as directed by adults (Jacobs, 1988, cited in Warrki Jarrinjaku Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy Project Team, 2002). Anangu and Yapa children sleep, eat, and play whenever and wherever they choose. If babies cry they are immediately picked up and held; it is considered cruel to do otherwise. Furthermore, the Kardiya practice of putting babies and young children to sleep in a room on their own is considered inhumane. Yapa children never sleep on their own, and it is rarely a quiet environment for sleeping because they are always with their mother and other family members.

It is significant, however, that the practice of responding to a child's wants as well as needs does not negate the existence of behavior controls. Children are encouraged to behave in specific ways. For example, an important feature of Aboriginal child rearing is the emphasis placed on a child's ability to learn compassion for others and to share. Unselfishness and compassion are seen as highly desirable behaviors. Parents and family members demonstrate this by never denying children what they want. Generosity is seen as the natural way of behaving and consequently becomes so (Hamilton, 1981, cited in Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS Project Team, 2002). There is no concept of *mine* in regard to a plaything. Children are actively encouraged to give away objects if another child wants them.

In learning about Tjukurpa, Waltja, Ngura, and Kanyini, children learn the importance of relationships and the responsibilities they have to everything in their environment. They are taught to help and encourage one another, to keep each other safe, and to work together; for example, non-Aboriginal teachers in the classroom will often notice an older sibling

completing a writing or drawing task for his or her younger relatives, particularly if the younger ones are having difficulty. According to Jukurpa, this is an older sibling's responsibility, as it is unacceptable to watch someone struggling when assistance is required. Individual merit has little value in such a learning environment.

### *Conclusion*

This article provides an overview of the work that has been achieved so far in a group of projects known collectively as Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintankamanu Purananjaku, Warlpiri for "Working together everyone and listening," also referred to as the Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy (Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS). The Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS initiative in central Australia started a process whereby quality early childhood care and education is being defined by senior Anangu and Yapa women, using their own cultural knowledge and expertise that has been bestowed on them and transmitted across generations for many thousands of years.

The senior women talk about their struggle to gain recognition for their cultures' quality child rearing, learning, and developmental practices as outlined in this article. As with other Indigenous groups around Australia and the world, the women are calling for their cultural knowledge to be respected and treated on an equitable basis with Euro-American Western culture (Martin, 2005; Waltja Tjutanku Palyapayi, 2001; Warrki Jarrinjaku Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy Project Team, 2002; Secretariat of National Aboriginal and Islander Child Care, 2004, cited in Priest, Coleman-Sleep, & Martin, 2005). The senior women believe that it is their children's cultural knowledge and identity that will keep them strong in their childhood, adolescence, and adult life. Their views are increasingly being shared by mainstream research organizations in Australia and overseas (Ball & Pence, 2006; National Health and Medical Research Council, 2004; Pence & McCallum, 1994; Smith, 1999). As Wendy Nungurrayi Brown explains, "culture is the main thing to keep our families strong" (personal communication). Sharijn King, Manager of Waltja Tjutanku Palyapayi (2001) Aboriginal Organization, Alice Springs describes the challenges when she says,

You learn about your culture, your values and beliefs from everything you do and everything around you. For non-Aboriginal people, mainstream child care and schools reflect Kardiya [non-Aboriginal] culture. The books, TV, the way people dress, the way people talk to each other—all these things help to keep Kardiya culture strong. Yapa ["people" in Warlpiri] culture is reflected in how Yapa live and what they do and their responsibilities and relationships. Yapa child care and schools need to be like Yapa camp and way of living if they are going to keep Yapa culture strong. (p. 23)

Anangu and Yapa socialization of children focuses on the children being able to communicate appropriate understanding of their relationships to Tjukurpa, Waltja, Ngura, and Kanyini. Kulini means "to understand" (Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara languages). In understanding a person

acknowledges his or her relatedness to everything in the environment, and that he or she can subdue his or her own will in order to sustain relatedness (Myers, 1986, cited in Warrki Jarrinjaku Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy Project Team, 2002). As children grow and demonstrate that they are developing their understanding, they are gradually introduced to more knowledge. Elders believe now that their families are forgetting their relatedness. They are not growing and understanding in the correct way (i.e., Kulini).

Martin (2005), a Quandamooah and Bidjara woman from North Stradbroke Island, South East Queensland, explains this in another way when she says,

We are related to people, to the sky, the salt water, the animals, the plants, the land.... That is how we hold who we are. ... It is that we are related to everything else.... What is happening to our people now is we are not experiencing that relatedness.... It is important that we pay attention to our responsibilities and keep our relatedness strong.

Of the four principles described in this article Kanyini (in Luritja, Pitjantjatjara) or Mardarni (in Warlpiri) is one of the most difficult to maintain in current environments. Senior Anangu and Yapa women describe their difficulties in making sure their families follow Jukurrpa. Women continually strive to keep their families together and healthy: to hold all connections, relationships, and traditions together while petrol sniffing, substance misuse, family violence, and dependence on inappropriate systems weaken their communities, weaken Kanyini.

Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku is the vision the senior women hold for their children and families: everyone working together as one and listening. The Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS way of working happens when Anangu and Yapa and Kardiya (non-Aboriginals) listen carefully and respectfully to each other and when they build the knowledge together. Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS is about recording the correct way to grow up strong Yapa and Anangu children for today and for future generations. This is so that children and families will be able to learn and understand their relatedness to everything. The knowledge passed down through thousands of generations was interrupted as a result of colonization, but despite this, Anangu and Yapa culture has survived. While Anangu and Yapa continue to negotiate the challenges and opportunities of the mainstream culture in Australia, the work being undertaken as part of the Warrki Jarrinjaku initiative aims to ensure that Anangu and Yapa children and families will continue to know how to keep their culture strong and will know their correct responsibilities to the four principles of Tjukurpa, Waltja, Ngura, and Kanyini, which underpin all matters regarding the *growing* of children and families.

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### Appendix: Glossary

ACRS: Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy, a series of projects exploring Aboriginal child rearing practices in the desert regions of central Australia. The project is also known as Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku.

Anangu: The people, as distinct from animals, land, plants (Pitjantjatjara, Pintupi, Luritja language groups).

Both ways: Both ways usually refers to the environment in a service such as a school in a remote Aboriginal community. A learning environment will be both ways where there is a blend of mainstream and Indigenous cultural knowledge being taught. An ideal both-ways environment places equal value and respect on quality practices from both Kardiya (non-Aboriginal) and Yapa (Aboriginal) cultures.

Dreaming: See Jukurrpa.

Family mapping: Family mapping is an innovative research technique that is being explored in Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS (Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy). Not wanting to rely on recording their stories in English, Aboriginal women are experimenting with using their own "written language" (family mapping) to describe their childrearing practices-the drawings and designs seen in the western desert paintings (see Figure 2).

Intercultural: Russell Taylor (2003), the former CEO of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra states that it is necessary for the cultural knowledge and experiences of Indigenous people to be "respected and given currency" as non-Indigenous knowledge is (p. 45). To achieve this aim Taylor argues that is essential to



Figure 7. Children learning about Tjukurpa by watching old women dancing.

create and work in an “intercultural space.” Intercultural is defined as: “the ‘meeting of two distinct cultures’ through processes and interactions which retain the distinctive integrity and difference of both cultures and which may involve a blending of elements of both cultures but never the domination of one over another” (p. 45).

Jukurrpa: The Dreaming, the Law (Warlpiri language). Jukurrpa is the period in the remote past when ancestral beings created the social, moral, and physical universe. Jukurrpa is also in the present and has ongoing reality through the continuity of the practices that constitute Anangu and Yapa Law and culture.

Kardiya: Non-Aboriginal person (Warlpiri language) or “white fella.”

Languages: Aboriginal language groups involved in Warrki Jarrinjaku ACRS: Alyawarri, Anbara, Anmatyerre, Arrente, Kija, Kukatja, Luritja, Ngaanyatjarra, Ngaatjatjarra, Pintupi, Pitjantjatjara, Warlpiri, Yankunytjatjara.

Luritja: Aboriginal language from the central Australian desert region.

Mainstream: Refers to the greater number or majority. It is used as a general term to identify the most usual or widespread culture in a country, for example, the culture that is prevalent in the national government, health, and education systems.

Pintupi: Aboriginal language from the central Australian desert region.

Pitjantjatjara: Aboriginal language from the central Australian desert region.

Tjukurpa: Meaning the same as Jukurrpa (Pitjantjatjara and Luritja languages).

Tjukurrpa: Meaning the same as Jukurrpa (Pintupi language).

Traditional: Traditional people generally refers to Indigenous people who have English as a second or third language and who usually live in the most remote and isolated regions of Australia.

Walytja, Waltja: Family, extended family, all family (Pitjantjatjara, Pintupi, Luritja languages).

Waltja: Family (Luritja and Pintupi languages). Also used as an abbreviation for the Aboriginal organization Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi.

Waltja Tjutangku Palyapayi: “Doing good work for families” (Luritja language). The name of an Aboriginal organization based in Alice Springs, NT. Principal service provider of the ACRS.

Warlpiri: Aboriginal language from the central Australian desert region.

Warrki Jarrinjaku: “Working together” in Warlpiri, pronounced wah-key-jarr-in-jarkoo. Abbreviation for Warrki Jarrinjaku Jintangkamanu Purananjaku (Warlpiri for “Working together everyone and listening”) also known as the Aboriginal Child Rearing Strategy (ACRS).

Yapa: The people, as distinct from animals, land, plants (Warlpiri language).